

Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 AF-10 ARA-10 EA-10 NEA-10
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 00792

GENEVA FOR CCD DEL

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, UNGA, FR, US

SUBJECT: FRENCH VIEWS ON THE SPECIAL SESSION ON
DISARMAMENT (SSOD)

SUMMARY: FRENCH UN MISOFF D'AMECOURT DISCUSSED FRENCH
DISARMAMENT POLICY AND THE SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT
(SSOD) WITH US ON MARCH 3, INCLUDING HIS ASSESSMENT OF
SSOD PREPCOM IV, COMMENTS ON THE DECLARATION AND PROGRAM
OF ACTION, THE ORIGINS OF THE FRENCH INITIATIVE, FRENCH-
CHINESE CONSULTATIONS AND FRENCH VIEWS ON INTERNATIONAL
NEGOTIATING MACHINERY. FOLLOWING ARE HIGHLIGHTS OF THE
DISCUSSION. END SUMMARY.

1. SSOD PREPCOM IV:

THE FRENCH BELIEVE THAT PREPCOM IV ACCOMPLISHED LITTLE
AND THAT THE MAJOR DECISIONS INEVITABLY WILL BE TAKEN ONLY
AT THE SPECIAL SESSION ITSELF. WE PROVIDED OUR ASSESSMENT
DRAWING ON THE POINTS IN OUR WRAP-UP CABLE (USUN 680).

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2. SSOD ISSUES:

- (A) THE DECLARATION ON DISARMAMENT -- D'AME-
COURT SAID FRENCH DEL PROBABLY WILL INTRODUCE LANGUAGE IN
COURSE OF PREPCOM V TO DISTINGUISH THOSE ZONES WHERE THE
NUCLEAR DETERRENT PREVAILS, MAINLY EUROPE, FROM THE REST
OF THE WORLD (SEE LAST PARA, PAGE 1 OF A/AC.187/105)

INTRODUCED AT PREPCOM IV).

- (B) THE PROGRAM OF ACTION -- IN ADDITION TO STEPS TOWARD NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT AND SECURITY ASSURANCES, FRENCH BELIEVE THAT THE DISARMAMENT/DEVELOPMENT RELATIONSHIP AND NON-PROLIFERATION ALSO WILL BE PROMINENT AND CONTENTIOUS ISSUES. NON-ALIGNED, IN THEIR VIEW, ARE VERY INTERESTED IN DECISIONS LEADING TO TANGIBLE ECONOMIC BENEFITS FOR DEVELOPING COUNTRIES FROM THE SSOD. NON-ALIGNED ALSO WILL PUSH HARD ON ISSUE OF ACCESS TO NUCLEAR ENERGY FOR DEVELOPMENT AS THEY DID AT 32ND UNGA. D'AMECOURT EXPRESSED DISAPPOINTMENT THAT PAKISTAN, DESPITE IMPORTANCE OF FRENCH/PAKISTANI NUCLEAR AGREEMENT, WAS NOT CONSULTING WITH THEM AT SSOD ON THESE MATTERS.

3. THE ORIGINS OF THE FRENCH DISARMAMENT INITIATIVE:

ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF THE FRENCH APPROACH TO SECURITY AND DISARMAMENT, D'AMECOURT SAID, REMAIN UNCHANGED INCLUDING THEIR DETERMINATION TO MAINTAIN THEIR NUCLEAR DETERRENT UNTIL SUCH TIME AS REAL NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT TAKES PLACE. THEIR APPROACH, HOWEVER, HAS CHANGED AS REFLECTED IN THEIR NEW INITIATIVE. D'AMECOURT TRACED THE ORIGINS OF THE FRENCH INITIATIVE TO THE PREPARATIONS IN JUNE 1977 FOR THE BREZHNEV/GISCARD SUMMIT. AFTER THE SUMMIT, HE SAID, GISCARD SENT BACK TO THE QUAI ITS BRIEF-CONFIDENTIAL

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ING PAPER ON DISARMAMENT INDICATING THAT IT HAD TO BE RE-THOUGHT. APPARENTLY, BREZHNEV HAD IMPLIED THAT GISCARD WAS NOT AS FIRM ON SECURITY ISSUES AS POMPIDOU AND ALSO THAT FRENCH SECURITY POLICY COULD BE AFFECTED BY THE OUTCOME OF THE FRENCH ELECTION. THE NEW PROPOSALS AND GISCARD'S ANNOUNCEMENT OF HIS INTENTION TO ADDRESS THE SPECIAL SESSION IN PART ARE DESIGNED TO PREEMPT THE LEFT FROM TRYING TO IMPOSE ANY RADICAL CHANGE IN THIS AREA IF THEY WIN THE ELECTION.

4. CHINESE/FRENCH CONSULTATIONS:

THE FRENCH, D'AMECOURT CONTINUED, HAVE BEEN ENCOURAGED BY THE POSITIVE CHINESE RECEPTION OF THEIR DISARMAMENT PROPOSALS, WHICH HAD BEEN OUTLINED BY PRIME MINISTER BARRE IN HIS RECENT VISIT TO PEKING. ACCORDING TO D'AMECOURT, THE CHINESE INDICATED THEIR SUPPORT FOR A MORE ACTIVE FRENCH POSTURE ON DISARMAMENT ISSUES AND WELCOMED THE IDEA THAT THE FIVE PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL WOULD HAVE SEATS IN A NEW UN DISARMAMENT FORUM (EVEN IF THEY WOULD NOT TAKE THEIR SEAT). CHINESE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THEIR PARTICIPATION AT THE SPECIAL SESSION, HE SAID, CONFIRMED

THE FRENCH ASSESSMENT OF GROWING CHINESE INTEREST IN THE SSOD.

5. SOVIET REACTION TO THE FRENCH INITIATIVE:

THE SOVIETS, D'AMECOURT SAID, HAVE BEEN PREDICTABLY NEGATIVE TO THEIR PROPOSALS FOR REPLACING THE CCD WITH A UN NEGOTIATING FORUM, AND FOR A EUROPEAN DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE AS WELL AS TO THEIR SUGGESTION RE A UN DISARMAMENT RESEARCH INSTITUTE. ON THE LATTER, HE SAID FRENCH DID NOT INTEND ACTUALLY TO TRY TO LAUNCH SUCH AN INSTITUTE AT THE SSOD BUT RATHER TO STIMULATE THINKING ABOUT IT.

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THIS PROPOSAL WOULD INVOLVE WILLINGNESS BY STATES TO PROVIDE THE INSTITUTE WITH INFORMATION ABOUT THEIR DEFENSE POSTURE AND BUDGET, ETC. IT THUS COMPLEMENTS THE US INTEREST IN PROMOTING THE UN PILOT STUDY ON MILITARY BUDGETS.

6. FRENCH PROPOSAL ON UN NEGOTIATING FORUM:

D'AMECOURT SAID FRENCH RECOGNIZED STRONG RESISTANCE OF CCD MEMBERS, INCLUDING EUROPEANS TO THEIR PROPOSAL INTER ALIA BECAUSE IT IMPLIED ROTATION AND THEREFORE LIKELIHOOD THAT SOME OF THEM WOULD HAVE TO STEP DOWN FOR LIMITED PERIODS OF TIME. FRENCH, HE EMPHASIZED, WERE OPEN-MINDED ON METHOD OF SELECTION AND COMPOSITION OF A UN NEGOTIATING FORUM AND WERE RETHINKING THE MATTER IN VIEW OF CRITI-

CISMS AND RESERVATIONS EXPRESSED BY WESTERN AND OTHER STATES. LATEST FRENCH THINKING ENVISAGED TWO-TIER MEMBERSHIP: (A) 15 SECURITY COUNCIL MEMBERS -- PERMANENT MEMBERSHIP OF FIVE PERMANENT MEMBERS WHICH WOULD LEAVE DOOR OPEN TO CHINESE; TEN ROTATING SC MEMBERS WHICH WOULD ASSURE AT LEAST MINIMAL REPRESENTATION FROM OUTSIDE

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EUROPE AND (B) 20-25 OTHER MEMBERS WITH DEMONSTRATED STRONG INTEREST IN DISARMAMENT ISSUES. ONE POSSIBILITY WOULD BE TO SELECT THIS LATTER GROUP ON BASIS OF COMBINED CRITERIA OF MAJOR CONTRIBUTORS TO UN BUDGET AND SIZE OF DEFENSE BUDGET. IN EFFECT THIS WOULD PRODUCE NEGOTIATING FORUM WITH COMPOSITION VERY CLOSE TO CURRENT CCD MEMBERSHIP APART FROM AFRICANS. AS REGARDS CHAIRMANSHIP, FRENCH FAVOR SELECTION OF PROMINENT INTERNATIONAL CIVIL SERVANT FOR TWO-YEAR TERM RATHER THAN MONTHLY ROTATION.

7. FRENCH ATTITUDE TO CTB:

IN RESPONSE TO QUERY AS TO THE POSSIBILITY OF FRENCH ADHERENCE TO A CTB -REATY, D'AMECOURT SAID IT COULD BE EXPECTED THAT FRANCE WOULD CONTINUE FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE TO OPPOSE SIGNING A CTB. FRENCH SECURITY INTERESTS, HE SAID, WOULD REQUIRE CONTINUED TESTING IN ORDER TO MODERNIZE AND REFINE THEIR NUCLEAR DETERRENT, PARTICULARLY GIVEN THE CONTINUING DISPARITY BETWEEN THE MAGNITUDE OF US, SOVIET AND FRENCH NUCLEAR ARSENALS. WERE THE US AND USSR TO MAKE CLEAR IN SALT III THAT THEY WERE MOVING TOWARD SIGNIFICANT REDUCTION OF THEIR NUCLEAR ARSENALS, ON THE OTHER HAND, THIS COULD LEAD TO REASSESSMENT OF FRENCH POLICY. WHILE ACKNOWLEDGING THAT THERE WOULD BE CONSIDERABLE INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE ON FRENCH WERE A CTB ATTAINED, D'AMECOURT RECALLED THE CONSISTENCY OF THE FRENCH POSITION DESPITE CRITICISM OF ITS REFUSAL TO SIGN PROTOCOL I OF THE TREATY OF TLATELOLCO.

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